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Cover Page Footnote

Much of the material in this article was originally organized as a paper presented at the 1991 meetings of the Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology in Newark, Delaware, jointly written by the author and Christy (Vogt) Dolan (Goodwin and Vogt 1991). The project was supported entirely through volunteer efforts and donations of equipment and laboratory space from the Peabody Essex Museum. The National Park Service Denver Service Center and Salem State College loaned tools to the project, and the Waters and Brown Hardware of Salem donated equipment. The crew was made up of volunteers from local colleges and the surrounding communities, and was led by crew chief Christy Vogt and the author, who was the project investigator. My thanks to Mary C. Beaudry, Ann-Eliza Lewis, Jim Garman, and an anonymous reviewer, who insightful comments were integral to this paper.

"A SUCCESSION OF KALEIDOSCOPIC PICTURES": HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE TURNER HOUSE, SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS

Lorinda B. R. Goodwin

Although the House of the Seven Gables Historic Site is principally associated with Nathaniel Hawthorne, the excavations at the Turner House site revealed a wealth of information about the Turner and Ingersoll families, who lived in the house later made famous by Hawthorne's novel. The rich array of documents contributes not only to the further understanding of the households that occupied the site, but also suggest the ways in which the surrounding community perceived the residents and their home through time. This article describes the excavations that took place on the site during the 1991 field season. The documentary evidence acts as a guide to how the image of the site changed with each successive generation, from its construction as a fashionable home and business place in the 17th century, to its recreation as a historic site in the 20th century.

Même si le lieu historique de la House of the Seven Gables se rattache principalement à Nathaniel Hawthorne, les fouilles pratiquées au site de la maison Turner ont révélé une mine de renseignements concernant les familles Turner et Ingersoll qui vécurent dans la demeure que le roman d'Hawthorne a plus tard rendue célèbre. La riche gamme de documents non seulement contribue à mieux faire connaître les maisonnières de ceux qui occupèrent le site, mais indique aussi comment la collectivité environnante les a perçus eux et leur foyer au cours des années. L'article décrit les fouilles effectuées au site durant la campagne 1991. Les données documentaires aident à comprendre comment l'image du site a évolué à chaque génération, depuis sa construction comme demeure prestigieuse et lieu d'affaire au XVII^e siècle jusqu'à sa recreation comme lieu historique au XX^e siècle.

Introduction

The aspect of the venerable mansion has always affected me like a human countenance, bearing the traces not merely of storm and sunshine, but expressive, also, of the long lapse of mortal life, and accompanying vicissitudes that have passed within.

Nathaniel Hawthorne
The House of the Seven Gables

Hawthorne's description of his "House of the Seven Gables," perhaps directly inspired by the Turner house,

readily suggests the theme of this article. While the house gained renown through Hawthorne's novel and, to a smaller audience, as part of important architectural studies (e.g., Cummings 1979; Tolles 1983; Carson 1994), the families who actually lived in it largely have been ignored. This article looks beneath the revered beams and the surrounding landscape to explore the lives of the households that occupied it over more than three centuries.

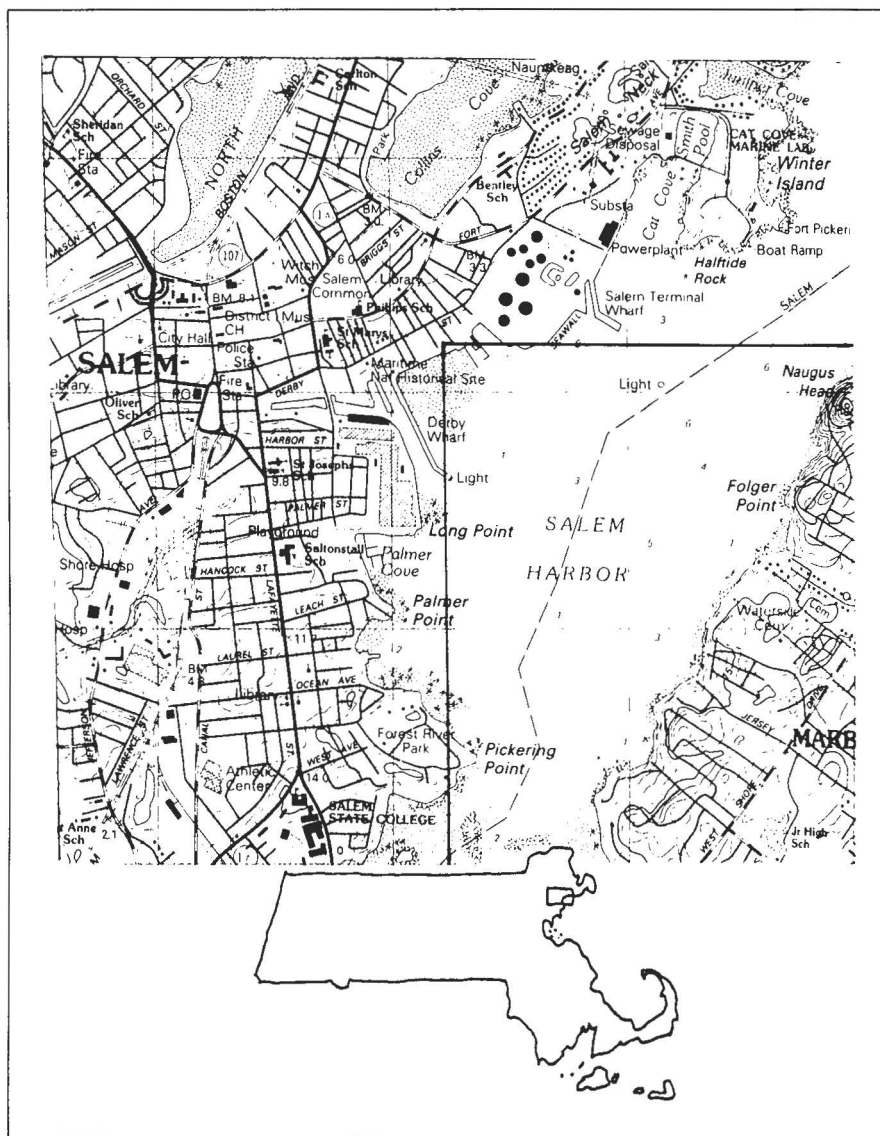


Figure 1. Location of project on USGS topographic map of Salem (1985).

Each generation shaped the house, or rejected it, to suit their needs and notions of their place in the community. While the physical transformations can be seen in the changing stratigraphy and in the structure itself, the attendant changes in character are best seen through the documents associated with the site.

The Turner site excavations took place on the House of Seven Gables Historic Site in Salem, MA, which is about 15 mi (24 km) northeast of Boston (FIG. 1). The site is located on Salem Harbor, directly across from the town of Marblehead. Houses dating to the 18th and 19th centuries, built in response to Salem's developing sea trade, crowd

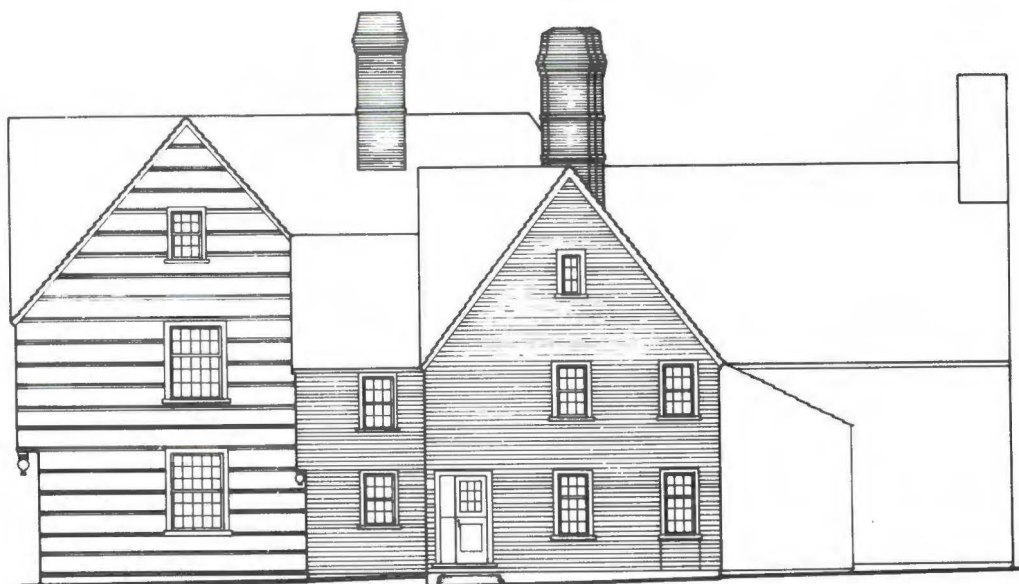


Figure 2. The Turner house from the east, with a conjectural plan of the 17th-century back kitchen ell (removed in 1794). Drawing courtesy of Cary Carson.

the streets that bound the property on three sides.

The grandness of the Turner house at the time of its construction in 1668, with its second floor jetty and pendants corners (FIG. 2), would have been as rich in meaning as its luxurious appointments, which included silver plate, "Turky work" rugs, and sumptuous textiles (Goodwin 1993: 145). It would have spoken to contemporary observers of the wealth and standing of its owner, the young Captain Turner. A modern observer, however, lacking much of this cultural intuition, must make the most of the artifactual and historical records to develop an understanding of the history and meanings that surround the family and its property. The goal of this essay is a restoration: not merely the stripping away of the ages' accumulated layers of meaning (whether imposed or supposed), but an understanding of how

each layer was perceived in its own time.

The intriguing collection of documents associated with the Turner site, including a 19th-century novel and an early 20th-century memoir in addition to the expected wills, business documents, probate inventories, and diaries, adds veneers of historical knowledge that reveal the changing faces that have been put on the property and its inhabitants over the last 360 years. This essay extends the archaeological research beyond the strictly corroborative focus repudiated by Beaudry in her introduction to *Documentary Archaeology in the New World* (1988: 1) to examine the relationship between the documents and the in-ground archaeology, a relationship that is the defining factor of historical archaeology and a source for much debate (see Beaudry 1988, 1995; Schuyler 1988; Little 1993; Deetz and Scott 1995).

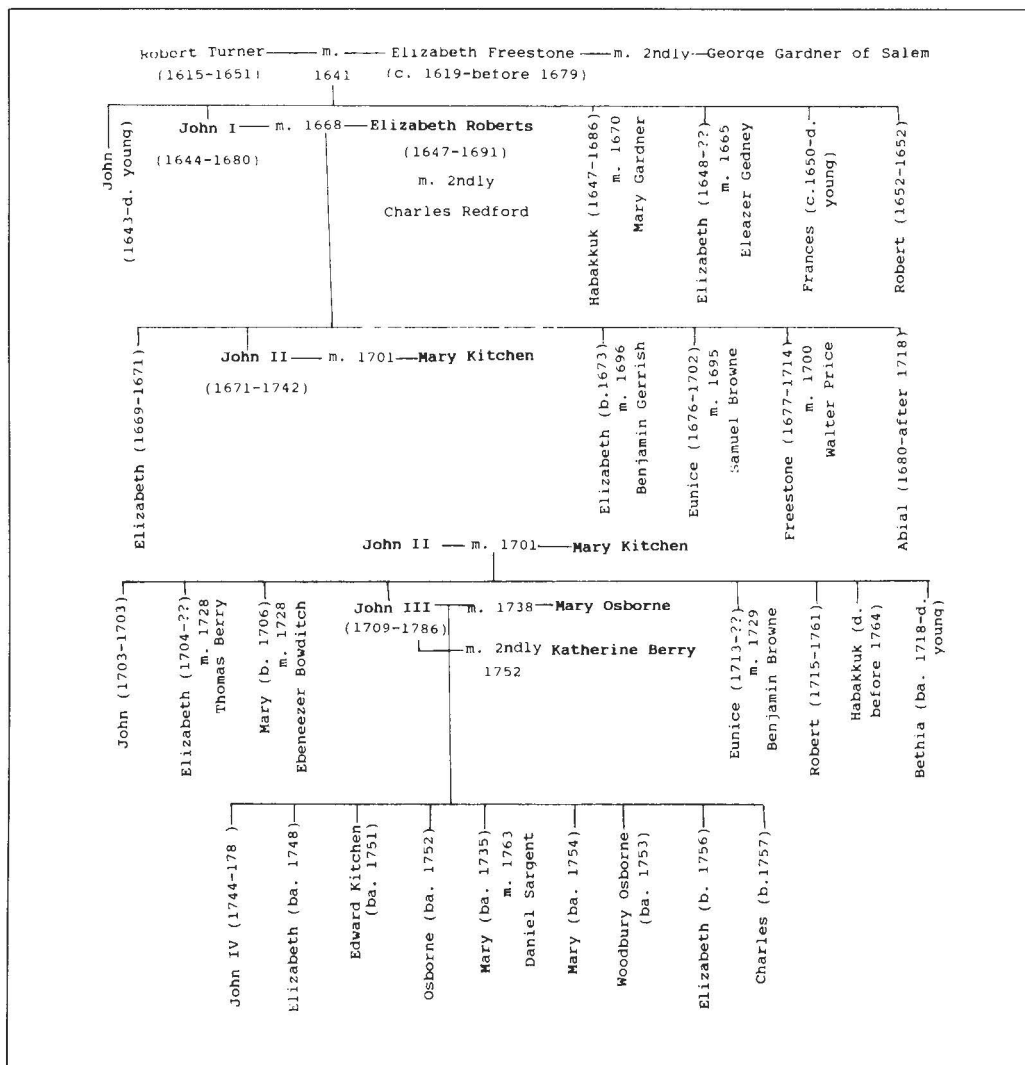


Figure 3. Family chart of the Turner family. Names in bold indicate ownership of the house.

Site History

The earliest evidence for human habitation in Salem dates to the 10th millennium before the present. Archaeological research suggests that the area was of great significance to the Native American population, as it lay on the boundary between the Pawtucket and Massachusetts people. The marine resources that gave the Algonkian name

"Naumkeag" ("eel fishing place") to what is now Salem drew native people to occupy the Turner site (Mrozowski et al. 1988: 21). Shells, ceramic fragments, lithic debitage, and charcoal are evidence of that long occupation (Goodwin 1993: 202).

The first historical records associated with the site reveal that, at the request of her daughter, the Town Council granted the widow Ann More three-

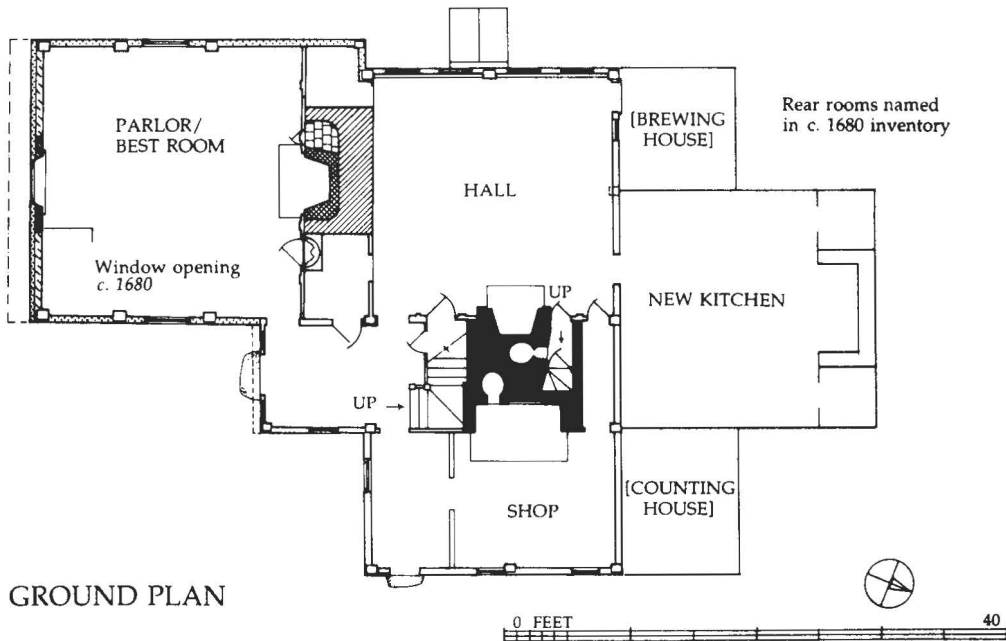


Figure 4. First floor plan of the Turner house, including the conjectural footprint of the 17th-century back kitchen ell. Drawing courtesy of Cary Carson.

quarters of an acre of land for her support in 1637 (Belknap 1928: 49–50). More sold part of that property to John Turner, a “marrenear,” around 1668 (Goodwin 1993: 30).

Turner was probably born in 1644 to a Boston shoemaker named Robert Turner and his wife Elizabeth Freestone, both of whom most likely left southeastern England during the Great Migration. John, his brother Habakkuk, and his sister Elizabeth moved to Salem when their mother remarried after Robert’s death, some time around 1651 (FIG. 3). Elizabeth Freestone Turner married George Gardner, a merchant whose Salem family had amassed enormous wealth in the Atlantic trade.

Although historian Samuel Eliot Morison in his *Maritime History of Massachusetts* (1921: 16) described the

Salem community as suspicious that young Turner’s rapid accumulation of wealth might be attributed to piracy, it is more likely that his success can be attributed to his family’s connections in Salem and also in Barbados, where a Turner cousin owned a plantation (Moriarty 1931: 7–14). Favored by the economic and political climate, Captain Turner made a marked leap from middle-class respectability as the son of a shoemaker to one of the wealthiest men in the Commonwealth.

The house that stands today was built by John (now Captain Turner) in 1668, the year he married Elizabeth Roberts of Boston. Although it has been heavily (and, at times, inaccurately) restored, Cummings (1979: 73) described the impressive 17th-century hall and parlor plan house (FIG. 4) as “one of the most ambitious examples of first period

architecture in Essex County." Captain Turner later added a lean-to and a kitchen to the north side of the house and, around 1678, a two and one-half story addition to the south, thereby showcasing the family's newly amassed wealth by increasing the size of their home by almost two-thirds (FIG. 4). The new parlor reflected the re-emerging ideals of classical space and proportion. Turner also bought land across the street (then called Turner's Lane) where he probably located some of his warehouses and wharves. Captain Turner did not enjoy his new home for long; he died in 1680 at the age of 36, leaving his wife, Elizabeth, in charge of his business and their five children. She later yielded control of the business to her second husband, Captain Charles Redford.

Captain Turner's only son, John, reached his majority in 1693. Although his stepfather had lost most of the fortune left to Captain Turner's heirs, John II repaired the family fortune and quickly parlayed it into substantial wealth through the intercoastal and triangular trade. He became active in local government and the military, ending his military career after achieving the rank of colonel. In the 1720s, Colonel Turner acquired all the land between Turner, Hardy, and Derby Streets, and renovated and redecored his house and property to reflect his new status as a member of His Majesty's Council in Boston. He held that post from 1720 to 1740 and died in 1742, leaving household goods and merchantable wares totaling more than £10,000 (Essex County Probate Records, Docket 28,367, hereafter ECPR).

His son, John Turner III, inherited the Turner house, but considered the house too old-fashioned for use as anything but a summer retreat. The Honorable John Turner, Esquire, built a more

fashionable house in the center of Salem. This must have eaten up most of his liquid inheritance, and this John Turner does not seem to have been successful at (or willing to continue) the family business; he lost the profitable trading operation set up by his grandfather and maintained by his father. By 1782, the Honorable John had to sell everything, including the house on Turner Street, to pay his debts. Indeed, in the inventory taken after his death in 1786, it is clear that he had taken rented lodgings due to his straitened financial situation. His probate inventory (worth less than £59) evokes his poverty and the image of the scant material remains of his family's former wealth: much of the furniture is described as "old," and there was \$22,453 in worthless Continental dollars recorded in the last entry (ECPR vol. 361: 5-6).

Samuel Ingersoll, another sea captain, bought the Turner house and lot from John Turner III and, between his voyages, made extensive changes to the property. These included constructing a seawall, removing the "back part" of the house (presumably the 17th-century kitchen ell), and extending the first floor of the new parlor to meet the second floor overhang (Bentley 1907: 463). When Captain Ingersoll died on one of his ventures in 1804, his wife Susannah Hathorne Ingersoll took possession of the house. At her death in 1811, their daughter Susannah inherited the property (Bentley 1907: 216).

The surrounding community considered Susannah Ingersoll eccentric; she lived a reclusive life and referred to the house as "her prison" (Emmerton 1935: 23). She did entertain some relatives occasionally, however, and her young cousin Nathaniel Hawthorne was among them. It is widely believed



Figure 5. Late 19th-century photograph of the Turner house from the southeast, as it looked at the time of the Upton family's occupation. Photo courtesy of the House of the Seven Gables Settlement Association.

that the stories Susannah told Hawthorne about the house and its history were the inspiration, if not the models, for many of his works. At Susannah's death in 1858, her adopted son Horace Connolly acquired the house. Connolly sold it in 1879. The house passed through the hands of several absentee owners over the next four years, and for the most part remained empty through this time. Henry Upton purchased the house in 1883; he and his family were the last residential owners (FIG. 5).

Caroline Emmerton, a pillar of the Salem philanthropic community, visited the house while it was owned by the Uptons and later envisioned it as a source of income for her benevolent work—financing education for poor and

immigrant children. She purchased it in 1908 and began its restoration in 1909. Miss Emmerton hired Joseph Chandler to do the restoration. He removed the 19th-century siding and back porch, uncovered and restored the gables, and constructed an ell to the north of the house to represent the 17th-century kitchen (FIG. 6). (We know from a 1769 map that the present footprint of the visitor's waiting room does not accurately reflect the kitchen ell; the original was narrower and extended out further into the rear yard than the present ell.) While the exterior of the house was restored to resemble its 17th-century appearance, the interior was filled with artifacts reflecting the 19th century and the period of Hawthorne's visits to Susannah



Figure 6. The Turner house after restoration, c. 1910. Photo courtesy of the House of Seven Gables Settlement Association.

Ingersoll. Caroline Emmerton rescued several 17th-century Salem houses from demolition and brought them to the property, along with the Hawthorne birthplace, to create an "appropriate" ambiance (Emmerton 1935: 37). Since the early 20th century, proceeds from the House of the Seven Gables Historic Site have been the principal source of income for the community work that Miss Emmerton established.

The Archaeological Project

In October 1990, the author organized the first archaeological excavation at the House of the Seven Gables Historic Site. One goal was to add to the growing archaeological database currently available on cultural and material life in 17th- and 18th-century New England, particularly Salem,

where there has been a gratifyingly high number of historical archaeological projects in recent years. Several of these projects, including research on Derby and Central Wharves (Barker, personal communication, 1994; Garman, personal communication, 1994), the Narbonne house (Moran, Zimmer, and Yentsch 1982), and the Skerry house (Hood 1991), have taken place within a mile of the Turner house, and have addressed research issues similar to those examined at the House of the Seven Gables (see also Mrozowski et al. 1988).

The Excavations

The field investigation at the Turner house took place from mid-May through early September of 1991. The Peabody Essex Museum Archaeology Department provided lab space for ar-

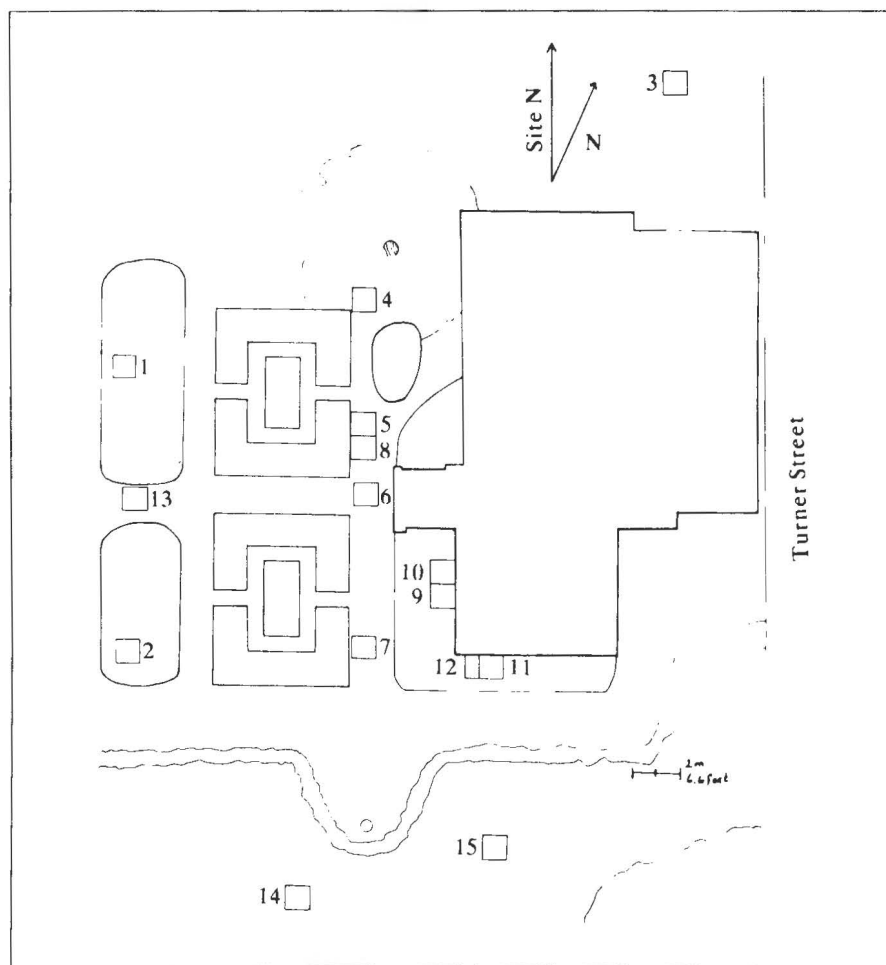


Figure 7. Plan showing placement of test units.

tifact processing and analysis. The artifacts are housed there temporarily until construction of a new visitors' center and curation facility is completed at the House of the Seven Gables Historic Site.

The research design and testing strategy were based upon, and at the same time limited by, several factors. While the site had great potential, many of the earlier strata and features had been affected by modern utility trenches, the installation and maintenance of formal garden beds, and Emmerton's extensive restoration activities. Our goal was to learn about

the house and lot before the period of the restoration, which was already well-understood. Less modernization took place on a parcel of land located to the west of the house, encompassing the present garden and the northernmost part of the south lawn (FIG. 7).

To the east of the house is Turner Street, which originally led to the Turners' wharves and a "public way" along the harbor. The existing pavement and right of way considerations, however, made the area inaccessible to us at the time of the excavation. The lawn area and archaeological deposits to the south of the house were affected



Figure 8. Fragment of a glass wine bottle. The remaining portion of the seal is marked 1715.

by the destruction—and subsequent reconstruction—of Captain Ingersoll's seawall during the blizzard of 1978. A 1769 map of the property depicts a well to the north of the house, though most of the early stratigraphy was obscured by 20th-century utility trenches (ECPR Docket 28,367).

The research focus therefore remained on the yard west of the house, the south lawn, and the house foundation. The field crew excavated two units on the south lawn, one north of the house (near the "well" indicated by the 1769 map), four adjacent to the foundation of the south parlor addition, and ten in various locations in the garden area (FIG. 7). The crew sampled 20% of the areas that were available for investigation.

Fifteen units were excavated, 14 of which were 1 m × 1 m; Unit 12 was 1 m × 0.5 m. Excavations followed the natural stratigraphy, and all soil was screened through quarter-inch mesh. Glacially deposited sterile sand usually appeared about 60–70 cm below

the surface. In general, the compactness and visibility of the different strata indicated that the soil was deposited in the creation of living surfaces. Other soils reflected the 19th-century (and possibly earlier) garden. The heavy use of the yard, and later gardening activities, account for some mixing between layers.

Running in a line north to south along the westernmost boundary of the available areas of the site were Units 1, 2, and 13 (FIG. 7). These shared some stratigraphic similarities and suggested a gentle downward slope toward the northwest, indicated by the increasing depth of the glacially deposited sand (5 ft [1.5 m] below datum in Unit 1 and 2.67 ft [0.8 m] in Unit 2). Unit 1 retained the greatest integrity. In the earliest historical stratum, level 7, we recovered a fragment of a wine bottle. Half of its glass seal was present and read "1715," dating to the occupation of Colonel John Turner (FIG. 8). Found in association with the bottle fragment were creamware, redware,

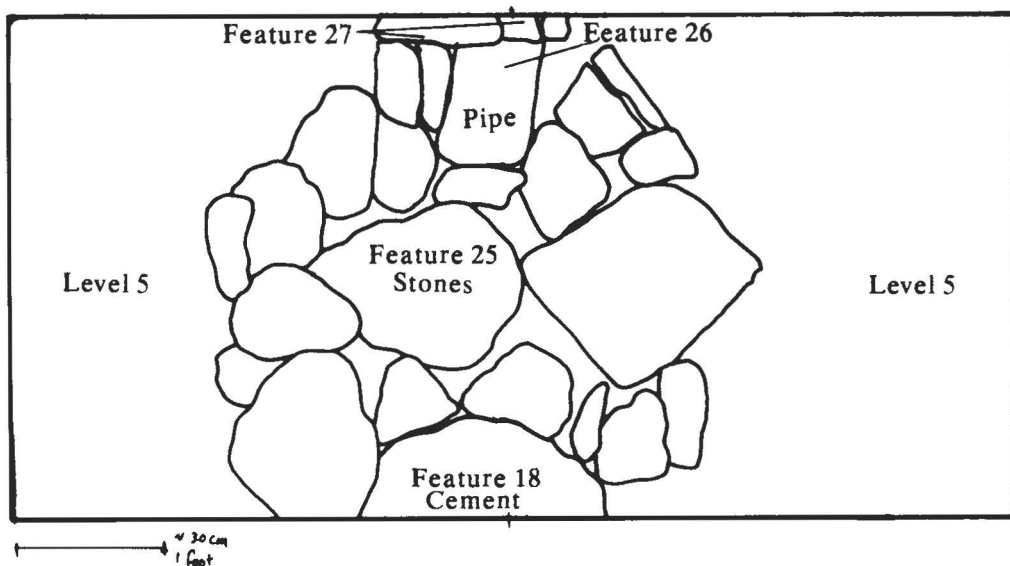


Figure 9. Plan of the French drain from Units 5 and 8. The top of the drawing is east.

brick fragments, and a pipestem fragment that was notched, apparently in an attempt to make a whistle.

Units 3 and 4 were located at the northernmost point of the study area. Unit 3 was placed to the north of the house in the hope of finding evidence of either the well drawn on the 1769 map, or traces of the "new kitchen" mentioned in the 1693 probate inventory. Early 20th-century construction of the waiting room, visitors' center, and two utility trenches obliterated all indication of the earlier uses of the area. Several of the groundskeepers suggested that a modern drain system, installed around 1910, incorporated the structure of the older well, obscuring its original use and location.

Unit 4 revealed several trenches containing abandoned utility conduits, several of which cut through earlier strata. Large artifact fragments found in the trench fill suggest a rapid back-filling of the trenches. The recovered material dates to the end of the 19th century and the Upton family period. This assemblage includes brown trans-

fer-printed wares with makers' marks from the J. F. Wileman and Boote potteries in Staffordshire (Godden 1964: 84, 671). Above the glacial till and outside the edges of these trenches to the east and west were faint traces of 18th-century living surfaces (including redware, tin-glazed earthenware, pipestem fragments, wrought nails, bone, and shell) that seem to correspond stratigraphically and artifactually with those found in some of the units to the south.

In the garden pathway, south of Unit 4, the crew uncovered a circular Portland cement feature in contiguous Units 5 and 8. Further excavation revealed it to be the cap to a stone feature. The stratum upon which the cap rested contained late 18th- and 19th-century artifacts, including a cufflink, a caramel-colored gunflint, redware, creamware, and pipestem fragments. Removing the cap exposed not a well, but a French drain, used to disperse groundwater (FIG. 9). The artifacts suggest that the French drain was constructed by Captain Ingersoll, who was

Table 1. Percentages of artifact types in the Turner house assemblage.

<i>Material type</i>	<i>% of total assemblage</i>
Ceramic (includes clay pipes)	30
Glass (includes window, tablewares, and storage)	24
Metals (includes nails)	23
Faunal	15
Stone and Lithic	7
Miscellaneous (includes botanical, other architectural, and other)	1
Total	100

Table 2. Ceramic sherd counts, percentages of the ceramic assemblage, and minimum number of vessels (MNV).

<i>Ware type</i>	<i>Sherd count</i>	<i>% of assemblage</i>	<i>MNV</i>
Redware	1,957	52	82
Creamware	665	17	15
Pearlware	525	14	76
Tin-glazed earthenwares	239	6	16
Whiteware	108	3	5
All buff-bodied wares	101	3	21
Porcelain	91	2	49
All stoneware	89	2	30
Whieldon	7	<1	2
Buckley	6	<1	2
North Devon gravel-tempered	3	<1	1
Jackfield-type ware	2	<1	2
Iberian	1	<1	1
Total	3,794	100	302

known for his extensive renovations to the property (see below). The Turner house is less than 20 ft (6 m) above sea level and to this day is easily flooded during storms. Hawthorne perhaps knew of this when he described in his novel the brackish water present on the Pyncheon property. The drain was about 4 ft (1.2 m) thick and 4 ft (1.2 m) in diameter and was constructed of local

rhyolite. A similar drain is illustrated in George Waring's *Draining for Profit and Draining for Health*, an 1867 publication that warned about the unhealthiness of accumulated water on a property.

Units 6 and 7 were located to the south of Units 4, 5, and 8. Here again the stratigraphy indicated accumulated living surfaces, with some fea



Figure 10. Scale weight, marked "Scruple" and "2."
Weight is 1.3 cm square.

tures indicating the presence of a garden and perhaps features related to water draining from the French drain. At least one posthole was found; it correlates to a fence visible in a late 19th-century photograph of the southwest corner of the house, the garden, and the pathway.

Four units, Units 9, 10, 11, and 12, were excavated around the foundation of the parlor addition. All of these showed some evidence of 20th-century planting activities and possibly some from earlier periods. One planting hole in Unit 9 contained fragments of two early 18th-century tin-glazed earthenware punch bowls. Units 11 and 12 were south of the foundation and contained a post and posthole—evidence of Samuel Ingersoll's extension of the parlor at the end of the 18th century. The posthole cut through earlier 18th-century levels, which contained a fragment of turned lead, a piece of lead shot, North Devon gravel-tempered

earthenware, Jackfield-type ware, redware, and pipestem fragments.

Located on the lawn to the south of the garden and to the north of the area disturbed by the 1978 reconstruction of the stone seawall were the last two units, 14 and 15. These were the most shallow, extending to a depth of only 50–60 cm before glacial sand appeared. These contained 19th- and possibly 18th-century material.

The Artifacts

Window leads, faunal remains with butchery marks, gilt wrapped-head pins, buttons, glass (fragments from windows, drinking vessels, bottles, and lamp globes), architectural materials, and some poorly preserved macrobotanical remains (TAB. 1) made up the majority of the nearly 17,000 artifacts recovered. Ceramics comprised the bulk of the assemblage and included redware, tin-glazed

earthenware, Jackfield-type ware, North Devon gravel-tempered, buff-bodied slip-decorated earthenwares, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, and European and Asian porcelains (TAB. 2).

In many of the units, excavators found Native American materials between the earliest deposited historical layer and the glacial sand. These included debitage and ceramic fragments that were in some cases burnished or cord decorated. No hearths were discovered, but the archaeological information suggests this site was, at the very least, a camp or fishing area.

Several individual artifacts are noteworthy. For example, a brass weight found in an 18th-century feature in Unit 6 can be associated with Colonel John Turner's business activities. It was 1 sq cm, flat, and marked "2" and "Scruple" on the surface (FIG. 10). A reference to a "Silver scale and weights" found in the Colonel's 1743 probate inventory suggests this probably was used for measuring silver. Recovered in Unit 7, and possibly related to the use of the scale weight, was a molded piece of silver wire.

The wine bottle fragment (FIG. 8) with its seal was only one of many fragments of drink-related vessels found at the Turner site. Wine glasses, porcelain teacups or dishes, tall mugs of white salt-glazed stoneware and brown lustre stoneware, and tin-glazed earthenware punch bowls all reflect the considerable amount of entertaining in which the Turners engaged. This is also reflected in the wines and drinking and serving vessels found in the Turner probate inventories, discussed below.

The Chinese porcelain teacup fragments that were recovered date from the 1740s to 1770s and can be attributed to John Turner III. It may be that when he was forced to sell his new home and

return to the Turner house in the 1760s, Turner brought his expensive furnishings back to the old house with him. Another theory is that while John Turner III was unable to afford the new, expensive house in the center of town, he could purchase porcelain teawares as a less expensive way to maintain a sense of his high social standing, if no longer his high economic status.

This use of high style goods in an unfashionable house is similar to the "discrepancy between...the architecture and the artifacts" that Herman discusses in his examination of the Thomas Mendenhall site in Wilmington, Delaware (1984: 68). The lower status artifacts found on that site were explained by a reversal of political and financial fortunes not suggested by the fine house, and it was the documentary research that clarified the situation. While the juxtaposition of status symbols at the Turner house was reversed, it also indicates decreasing wealth when understood within the context of the historical record.

The Documents

In addition to being used in the construction of the family history and to inform the excavation strategy, all of the documents suggest different aspects of life on the property. The use of the house as a place of business and important social events, in addition to shelter, can be seen from the descriptions of the rooms and their accouterments, adding flesh to the bones of the archaeological record.

The Turners

The year that the first Captain John Turner died, 1680, a brief inventory was taken. Much attention is paid to

the names of ships in which he invested; emphasis here seems to be placed on the property that could increase his wealth. A more complete inventory was taken in 1693 when Captain Turner's son reached his majority (ECPR, vol. 303: 98). This not only describes in minute detail what John Turner owned, but the way it was stored and the use of the rooms. We also have some idea of what was being sold in a sea captain's shop at the end of the 17th century, though it must be remembered that the Turner family was exceptional in its wealth—Captain Turner's estate was the largest in Massachusetts in 1680, valued at nearly £2,000. These shop goods included soap, fish hooks, and hose and notions, while the warehouses contained lead shot, salt (in quantities that suggest use in preserving fish), and rope.

Another way in which this inventory is useful is that it helps to give some approximate dates for the construction of various additions to the house, as well as information on room function based on the names. For example, the "new kitchen" was constructed sometime before the inventory was taken for Captain Turner in 1693, and the "shop" described in this inventory is used as an "accounting room" by the 1740s, perhaps suggesting a larger scale of business or removal of the shop to a different location. Also, the rooms' functions changed with the construction of more modern or elaborate additions. The parlors became more quotidian public work spaces, and the newer rooms functioned as the more important social spaces.

Another group of documents sheds more light on the activities of Captain Turner. Although the town histories of Salem record Turner's participation in the church and town government, they do not tell the whole story. The Quar-

terly Court Records of Essex County (QCREC) show that Turner was fined on several occasions for failing to appear for jury duty (QCREC IV, 1914: 430; VI, 1917: 145) and, when elected to act as constable, he paid another man to take over the office for him (Essex Institute Historical Collections 1912: 18). Turner further exploited the importance and prestige of these positions for his own financial benefit; he made the most of his positions of trust to secure a license to sell "strong waters," something directly tied to his trade in Barbadian molasses (Goodwin 1993: 50).

Colonel Turner's 1743 inventory, written more than 50 years later, is even more extensive and is also catalogued room by room (ECPR, Docket 28,367). The inventory is 13 pages long and is devoted to describing every detail of the Colonel's personal and capital wealth. The list ranges from "a silver standing cup washed with gold" valued at over £37 to a "cotton Hammock" in the kitchen chamber. One direct connection between the documentary and the archaeological record appears on the fourth page of the inventory, where a "pair Silver Scale and weights" is listed, no doubt a reference to the weight described above. In this case too, it is interesting to note that the materials seem to be listed in order of the fineness of the rooms, and the end of the inventory lists ships' stores, slaves, and animals, again highlighting the business potential of the second John Turner.

The intimate relation between social life and business is clearly underscored in these documents. The house was used as a place to conduct business partly through the subtle rituals of elite behavior. The fragments of wine glasses, wine bottles, mugs, and porcelain teacups found on the Turner site, in

addition to the entries in probate inventories listing casks of wine and cider, suggest how important ritual meals were to the elite. Tea parties were used to cement alliances through marriage (Roth 1988: 445), and these alliances were, in turn, crucial in the negotiation of business and political alliances in Salem. Most of Colonel Turner's cronies were related to him by marriage to his daughters.

Bushman describes the polite mannners that were the marker of the elite (1992: 32) and the ways in which food and drink (and the special vessels used to serve them) emphasized not only the means but the knowledge to use such objects as teacups and silver spoons in the prescribed manner. These shared connections, meals, and knowledge acted to maintain bonds among the elite.

Benjamin Lynde, Sr., a prominent local politician and diarist, recorded the many occasions on which Turner treated his fellows on His Majesty's Council to rounds of wine and punch (Lynde 1880: 42, 48). On other occasions, other diarists noted that Turner attended and gave parties, indicating the skill with which the Colonel effectively blended social and business activities to his advantage.

Benjamin Lynde, Jr. also kept a diary, and it is in one of his entries that we see one of the only references to Madame Mary Turner, Colonel Turner's wife. Young Lynde recorded that he saw her home from a charity meeting in 1724. The next time that Madame Turner enters the documentary record is at her death in 1769. Her probate inventory reveals that she had moved to Ipswich after the death of her husband and, judging from the amounts of teawares, wine decanters, and other furniture, it appears that she maintained her social ties after she moved

out of Salem (ECPR vol. 345: 180). An account kept by her son, John Turner III, records that her body was brought back to Salem, that she was interred in a coffin with a lettered plate, and that mourners were given gloves and served wine and rum with sugar (ECPR vol. 346: 515). Even in death there was an opportunity to maintain social connections.

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich writes that a "good wife earned the dignity of anonymity" (Ulrich 1982: 3). This anonymity makes the task of learning about the women who lived on the Turner site particularly frustrating because they only appear in the primary documents at socially significant times: the births, marriages, and deaths, of themselves, their husbands, and their children. Other instances where they appear are extraordinary ones, often marked by financial necessity and the lack of specific male actors, usually husbands or fathers. Ann More's need for community support, Elizabeth Free-stone Turner's widowhood, and Colonel Turner's custodianship of his unmarried sister Abial are examples of these situations. A more complete picture can be drawn only by looking at the wider context provided by secondary descriptions of women's life in the 17th and 18th centuries, and by placing the references gleaned from the primary sources into this framework.

It has already been mentioned that the Honorable John Turner died in poverty, leaving just over £58, in comparison to his father's estate of £10,000 (ECPR vol. 361: 354). Letters written by and about him before his death reveal that John was forced to ask his friends to help him find gainful employment. In 1759 he used these connections to secure the post of Naval Officer in Salem after it had been offered to someone else (Moriarty 1913: 7). Later, he again

relied on family connections to preserve his meager employment, which was sought by a political rival. Turner wrote to Governor Thomas Hutchinson, begging that he be allowed to keep his post, reminding the governor that he "never took a bribe...that is a fack & have had them offered by severall [to] which they can attest [I never took]" (Jedry nd: 16). He remained in this post until 1772, when it was probably too dangerous for a Tory to act as a tax collector in rebellious Salem.

The Ingersolls and Nathaniel Hawthorne

The journals of the Reverend Dr. Bentley, a Salem divine who kept a close eye on his congregation from 1784 to 1819, provides information on the Ingersolls at the turn of the 19th century, including the changes that Samuel Ingersoll made to his property. More interesting, however, is the fact that the house is described almost exclusively in terms of Colonel John Turner. Colonel Turner died 40 years before the Reverend started his journals, but Turner's son, the Honorable John III, was alive during the first years the diary was kept. This may suggest that Reverend Bentley literally wrote off the unfortunate exploits of the third John Turner, in favor of the more admirable Colonel, in order to situate his friends the Ingersolls in the worthy setting of a now venerable house. Bentley's description of Susannah Hathorne Ingersoll's descent from the English and Hathorne families (associated with the 1692 witchcraft trials; Nathaniel added the "w" to his surname to distance himself from those troubled times) is a constant refrain emphasizing the respectability of the Ingersolls and their antique home (Bentley 1907: 29, 216).

The Turner house and its history reputedly inspired Nathaniel Haw-

thorne's *The House of the Seven Gables*. The story describes the wealthy Pyncheon family and how their ancestor falsely accused a member of the Maule family of witchcraft during the 17th-century hysteria in order to gain his desirable waterfront property. At his death, Maule curses the Pyncheons and their home, and it is not until 150 years later that the families are reconciled by marriage. Hawthorne urges his readers not to ascribe the setting to any particular house with the statement, "[T]he reader may perhaps choose to assign an actual locality to the imaginary events of this narrative," but then seems to concede that his characters are loosely based on historical figures with the sentence, "The personages of the tale...are really of the author's own making, or, at all events, *of his own mixing*" (Hawthorne 1965: 3, emphasis added).

It seems clear that the inspiration for some of Hawthorne's characters and situations came from Salem history, his cousin Susannah's tales, and his contact with the Turner-Ingersoll property. He obviously used the witchcraft trials of 1692 as a general setting for his novel. The character of Hepzibah, a reclusive old woman living in her ancient house in genteel poverty on the strength of family pride, may have been closely modeled on Susannah, who also rarely left the sanctuary of her decaying mansion.

Perhaps more directly pertinent to the archaeological record is the description of the house and garden. In the story, Judge Pyncheon built his mansion directly over the smaller house built by Maule, actually reusing the first house's chimney stack. Until more concrete evidence proves otherwise, I believe that this is the source of the current tradition that the first John Turner built his house over

the site of Ann More's. There may be a grain of truth in this; perhaps Hawthorne learned from Miss Ingersoll that the house was built on the site of the widow's house. Again, it is difficult to say what first generated the modern tradition, a completely imaginary situation in the novel or an account related from family history that was cannibalized for the story.

When Caroline Emmerton reopened the Turner house as a historic site, 80 years after *The House of the Seven Gables* was published, she wrote a book about her restoration of the house. While *A Chronicle of Three Old Houses* (1935) provides important clues about documents related to the site, it also tells much about the way Emmerton perceived the property at the turn of the century. While Hawthorne seems to have envisioned the place as somewhat foreboding, restrictive, and decaying, indeed as the perfect setting for a Gothic romance, Miss Emmerton describes the house with such words as "important," "venerable," and "wonderful;" her first visit is recorded as "thrilling" (Emmerton 1935: 29). The house had made the transition in the community's mind from being gloomy and run-down to an antique worthy of study and veneration. By restoring the interior of the house to the 1840s (the period of Hawthorne's visits to Susannah Ingersoll) and the exterior to its 17th-century appearance, the Turner house has been effectively frozen in this cherished mold to this day.

Conclusion: "A Succession of Kaleidoscopic Pictures"

In each of the above documentary examples, there are indications of what the Turner house and its surrounding property might have

looked like in each generation of ownership. Equally clear are clues to the personal character of each of the owners and their families. But there is a third level of information that suggests how each of these generations and the surrounding community perceived the house. The imagined history of the house has changed many times through the centuries: as a mansion fit for a wealthy and powerful family, a refuge from poverty for a ruined gentleman, a claustrophobic "prison" for a lonely woman, a relic of a decayed past, and a "wonderful" old house reminiscent of rich colonial history.

In her essay entitled, "Legends, Houses, Families, and Myths: Relationships Between Material Culture and American Ideology," Yentsch (1988) discusses how communities shape local traditions or "house histories" to reflect the community's world view. This is true for the Turner house, most recently in the way that the history is interpreted to emphasize Hawthorne's visits and his novel. Although Susannah Ingersoll is mentioned on the tours, the house is really displayed as the setting for part of Hawthorne's life and his literary works. But this selective phenomenon can be seen in the documents associated with the house and community as well. For example, Reverend Bentley focused on the earlier and more illustrious owners to provide a more genteel context for his respectable friends than might have been imagined if the association with the hapless John III persisted. Each generation altered its interpretations, to serve the needs of the community. The title of the essay, Hawthorne's own words, suggests that with each twist a new generation puts on its history, a different representation of the past is presented to the viewer. This need not

be a distraction in historical research; rather, it should be embraced as part of the continuum of perception that stems from the past.

Hawthorne's works frequently focus on the inevitable influence of the past on the future. Sundquist wrote that "Hawthorne's mirror of Romance was continually thronged...with ancestral memory," (1979: 141) and that

repetition or redoing is a central exercise for Hawthorne...The "doing over again" of some sin reaches such a compulsive pitch for [him] as to become an incantation, a jubilee of remembrance in which the departed personages of America's short history are re-collected so that the moment of crisis they once acted out may be kept alive. (1979: 87)

This is ironic when it is considered how his work fixed the image of one old house in Salem, making it renowned for a history that never happened but which is replayed every day through the tours of the house. But perhaps it is at those "moments of crisis" that the community searches through its chronicles for an interpretation suitable for its needs. When faced with a change in property ownership, confronted with elements of a "tarnished" past, or dealing with the dramatic shift of a house from a private home to a public, historic site, the current actors on this site and in the community create vignettes from historical fragments to best serve their ideals and needs.

Faulkner wrote (1951: 92): "The past is never dead. It's not even past." This can be seen clearly in the recycling of historical elements selected and displayed for 300 years at the Turner site. The archaeological research at the Turner house reminds us not only of the differences between our conceptions of the past and those of the actors in that

past, but also that archaeological interpretation is also an active process of shaping our own histories.

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